20¢ JUNE 5, 1950

New Republic

MR. LIE GOES TO MOSCOW

AN EDITORIAL

REPORT FROM THE HIGH PLAINS

By A. G. MEZERIK

INDO-CHINA'S YEAR OF DECISION

By FRANK ROBERTSON

HAROLD L. ICKES ON ANOTHER TRUMAN APPOINTMENT

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—but not starry-eyed

¶ Michael Straight, Editor of the *New Republic*, has returned from a coast-to-coast speaking tour which took him to a score of major cities in a dozen states.

¶ The meetings arranged for him were well attended. In some instances readers of the *New Republic* made long journeys from outlying localities to meet and talk with him. To his question, "What changes should we make to improve the *New Republic*?" virtually all replied, "No changes—it is better than it has ever been."

¶ In all cities Michael Straight's speeches and radio appearances were well reported. Among the many clippings, the one we like specially—an editorial from the Los Angeles *News*—is reprinted below:

Michael Straight liberal but not starry-eyed

"It was right nice of Michael Straight, the sincere and brilliant young editor of the 'New Republic', to visit us on his tour of the back country.

"Straight is a liberal but no starry-eyed liberal. He comes from a family of Morgan partners and knows what money is. He also knows there is an honest way to get it and another way and it is a lot of satisfaction to us to feel that he wants America and her people to prosper the honest way.

"Some of the country's reactionaries look upon the 'New Republic' with some misgivings, and of course the brothers at the far left regard it with unconcealed contempt. That puts it in a pretty good category in our book. It represents the type of liberalism that is healthy whether people go along with it or not. We hope young Mr. Straight and the people he meets come to like each other."

¶ One way of meeting Mr. Straight is to subscribe to the *New Republic*. You will like him—if you are not a reactionary or an extreme leftist. You will like the magazine he edits. In it you will find sane, shrewd comment, you will find accurate, informed reporting, and the steady development of new ideas and fresh proposals as the events of the world move forward.

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New Republic

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EDITOR: Michael Straight

EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Bruce Bliven

PUBLISHER: Daniel Mebane

MANAGING EDITOR: Jack Weeks

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Malcolm Cowley, John Farrelly, Harold L. Ickes, Joseph P. Lash, Max Lerner, James R. Newman, Gus Tyler

FOREIGN AFFAIRS EDITOR: Percy Winner

WASHINGTON BUREAU: Helen Fuller (Political Editor), Jean Begeman

DEPARTMENTS: Robert Hatch (Chief), Cecil Smith (Music), Saul Carson (Radio and Television), Harold Clurman (Theatre), Lincoln Kirstein (Fine Arts)

COPY EDITING: Elizabeth Huling (Chief), Ruth Tarcov

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WASHINGTON WIRE

THERE ARE TWO Constitutions in America, the Written and the Unwritten. (The Written, you remember, has that part in it about the Electoral College which nobody pays much attention to any more.) Dean Acheson's report to Congress on the London conference is made on a semi-informal basis because the Written Constitution takes no cognizance of the Secretary of State. The American cabinet is all extra-constitutional; it's not mentioned in the Written Constitution at all.

Only once before in history, so far as the State Department can remember, has a cabinet member reported to a joint session. Cordell Hull did it on November 18, 1943, after the Moscow conference. We recall looking down from the press gallery on the venerable Tennesseean as he lisped his stately periods. In general, anything that spans the silly constitutional chasm between executive and Congress is a good idea, and we hail the scheduled Acheson ceremony for that reason, klieg lights and all.

More important, Acheson's appearance marks the launching of the major Administration counter-attack against isolationist primitivism and McCarthyism. The revolt of the primitives was inevitable. For 150 years America has been isolationist. The war gave America world leadership against its will. Few nations ever came so far so fast. By mid-1951 we shall have sent out $30 billion in foreign rehabilitation and aid since the war ended. Now comes the reaction: Hearst, McCormick, Taft, McCarthy, Wherry *et al.* are all in it. They are not likely to win; the question is the degree of unity and the speed forward that can be maintained. Truman would like to have Acheson make other speeches around the country: he is dated for two already.

Maybe it is wishful thinking, but we see signs of public boredom with McCarthy. He pours out charges faster than they can be answered. We believe that American common sense, with its uncanny instinct, is beginning to size up Jumping Joe and to get tired of him.

It looks like a stalemate on taxes. This is one of the biggest issues before the 81st Congress. Taxes ought to be raised. Truman recommended a balanced plan: a reduction of $650 million in certain consumer excise taxes, to be made up by gains obtained from eliminating loopholes and raising taxes on corporate profits and wealthy estates. Instead of that, the House committee has voted excise tax cuts in excess of a billion dollars, found compensatory revenue of only about $375 million and, rather than plugging loopholes, has widened them. The most flagrant example of the latter is the proposal to extend the outrageous "depletion-allowance" system" (reduced taxes on the basis of mineral wealth extracted) from oil to other industries. Some Oklahoma oil millionaires pay scarcely any taxes now, and the House Ways and Means Committee would broaden the system. Unless the House bill gets to the Senate quickly, there will be no tax measure at all. Senators Lucas, Taft and others on the Finance Committee are up for reëlection and want to adjourn early—by August 1. A hot debate on taxes would take the session to September 1. Chairman George threatens to pigeonhole a tax bill unless he gets it soon and it is non-controversial.

The "tit-for-tat" diplomatic retaliation policy against satellite countries which cuts US representation abroad has its limits. Now we are requiring the Rumanian diplomats to keep within a 35-mile radius of Washington. Generally, the formula is to allow the other fellow only half as much as you have. One suggestion is that when the Czechs finally limit the size of our delegation to one man in Prague, we retaliate by allowing them only a midget.

The well-heeled Committee for Constitutional Government is headed by Edward A. Rumely. Where does he get the money? Typically, he has just ar-

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ranged to put a copy of John T. Flynn's *The Road Ahead* in the hands of all school teachers in Memphis and Shelby County. This is the book, you remember, that couples "Socialist planners" with "Communists" and thinks the New Deal came from Moscow. The Rumely outfit was the second largest spender of all registered lobbyist groups in 1949. In its orbit are Joseph Kamp's Constitutional Educational League and Merwin K. Hart's National Economic Council. Now Representative Buchanan (D, Pa.), chairman of the House lobby-investigating committee, has served subpoenas on the three groups; they must tell where their money comes from at a public hearing on June 6. Buchanan estimates that Rumely and Company spent $750,000 in 1949. In 1944 Rumely was held in contempt of Congress for refusing similar information.

Attention converges on Japan. John Foster Dulles is heading there, and so is a military mission under Secretary of Defense Johnson. After the war we got the Japs to sign a formal renunciation of the use of force, and they were effectively disarmed. But since then China has gone Communist. We forecast that within six months Congressional elements will complain that Japan is not carrying its fair armament burden against Russia.

The A-bomb has been so reduced in size, we understand, that jet bombers can carry it and war is thereby transformed. It took the old B-29 to lift the original A-bomb. Big bombers could be intercepted. Now it appears that fast planes can fly the new, small bombs. We don't see how land invasions can ever again be launched. A few of these bombs could break up large-scale mobilization. Significant is news that the US will base two jet units in Britain.

Notes. Truman now gets 90-day overall defense and diplomatic evaluations from the National Security Council subcommittee. . . . It took 16 months to pass a $35 million "tidbit" Point Four program, but the precedent to aid backward areas is important. . . . The current issue of the *Reporter* magazine shows how so-called "straight" news reporting plays into McCarthy's hands.

Washington T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

Arithmetic Lesson

SIR: About a year ago I wrote you about some figures on unemployment (as issued by the Bureau of the Census) that were not so favorable as those generally quoted. Since that time the situation has not improved . . . and I quote from the Series P-57, No. 94, issue of the Bureau, to point out a few comparisons with 1949.

Although the civilian labor force has increased from 60,835,000 to 62,183,000 from the first week of April, 1949, to a year later, the number at work 35 hours or more was actually less—declining from 46,417,000 to 46,268,000. Those working 34 hours or less increased from 14,418,000 to 15,915,000 in a year's time. Of these, 3,515,000 were unemployed . . . 2,501,000 worked less than 14 hours, and 8,055,000 between 15 and 34 hours. And all this despite the emergency hiring of more than 100,000 census enumerators for April.

In view of these figures, how can trade and industry claim recovery and progress for the past year? The income of these people certainly has not increased, and the earnings of the partially employed—the group that needs every dollar—are probably much lower than a year ago.

Brooklyn, N. Y. AUSTIN BILLINGS

Danger Ahead

SIR: We wish to voice support for the position taken by the *New Republic* (May 8) in opposing the provisions of the McCarran omnibus "anti-alien" bill, S3455. We feel that this is an exceedingly dangerous legislative proposal and wish to point out that among its many provisions are the following:

1. Authorizes the Attorney General to publish annually a list of organizations he deems to be subversive. . . .

2. Permits the deportation, denial of citizenship, or exclusion from the United States of any non-citizen who is or was a member of any organization listed by the Attorney General.

3. Exempts the Justice Department from the need to hold deportation hearings in accordance with the provisions of the Administrative Procedure Act, as ordered by the United States Supreme Court on February 20, 1950.

4. Enables the Justice Department to hold non-citizens, ordered deported, without bail for life, which would mean life imprisonment without trial, or concentration camps in the United States.

5. Orders all non-citizens in the United States to report by mail once a year to the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization. Failure to report would mean a sentence of 30 days and a fine of $200.

6. Enables revocation of the citizenship of any naturalized American who, within five years after becoming a citizen, supports or joins any organization listed by the Attorney General as subversive.

7. Instructs the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization to establish a "central index" of all non-citizens in the United States, which would include their citizen sponsors and all "relevant information" and opens up all files of the Immigration and Naturalization Service for the FBI and the Central Intelligence Agency. . . .

The above are only some of the obnoxious provisions of the McCarran omnibus "anti-alien" bill. The clear dangers to American democracy make it incumbent upon every American to campaign actively for its defeat. . . .

ABNER GREEN, Executive Secretary,
American Committee for Protection
New York City of Foreign Born

Point Four at Home

SIR: In the *New Republic* of April 10 Helen Fuller has an illuminating article in more ways than one—"Point Four Whittled Away." In her overhaul of the subject, she ignores the question of whether this country is financially able to undertake the cost of such an immense undertaking, together with cold-war spending and the perpetual outlay necessary to keep the Atlantic Pact functioning. Of course there is need of assistance to India, Africa and a dozen other benighted countries, but the task of raising the living standards of populations tripling ours from the abject abyss of 90-percent illiteracy, coupled with religious prejudice, would be a Herculean one, especially in India. A scientist and writer, William Vogt, in an article in the *Saturday Evening Post*—"Let's Examine Our Santa Claus Complex"—states that if you raise the living standards of backward, ignorant people they will defeat the gains by raising more babies in an already overcrowded population. . . .

The writer . . . is opposed to the waste of the cold war, the Atlantic Pact and Point Four. Reasons for that opposition? We are in debt $160 billion; there are at least five million people out of work in the United States; slum conditions in large cities exist, notably that of the 100,000 Puerto Ricans in New York; and migrant workers in California and Arizona are almost as badly off as some of the people Point Four was supposed to aid. More reasons: taxes are still at wartime peak five years after the close of the struggle, and river projects, the St. Lawrence Seaway and any measure benefiting the common citizen is cut as long as these fantastic and visionary schemes are in present and contemplated form. A Point Four program for our country would be welcome here.

Ontario, Calif. E. L. NANCE

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VOLUME 122, NUMBER 23, ISSUE 1853, NEW YORK CITY, JUNE 5, 1950 **New Republic**

MR. LIE GOES TO MOSCOW

IN THE MIDDLE OF MAY, a thrill of new hope ran around the world. Trygve Lie, Secretary General of the United Nations, had gone on a pilgrimage to the chief world capitals in the interest of peace. Moscow was the fourth capital to be visited, after which Lie promptly arranged to visit the other three (Paris, London and Washington) for a second time. He has not, as this issue of the *New Republic* goes to press, revealed the contents of his talk with Generalissimo Stalin, yet everyone is asking: Is there a real chance of ending the cold war? And if so, on what terms?

In Lie's mind, that question is certainly involved with the preliminary one, whether the Russians can be brought back to Lake Success. For many months, the important work of the United Nations has been almost at a standstill, because the Russians insist on walking out of every gathering at which representatives of Nationalist China are present. They do so on the ground that since the Chinese Communists now control the actual territory of the Chinese mainland, their government should be the one represented in the UN. Whether the Russians are right or wrong in their position is less important, at the moment, than the fact that under the impact of this situation, the UN is moribund. But many experts in international law, while opposed to Communism, believe that on this issue Moscow is both legally and morally right.

Trygve Lie also takes this position. Months ago he began working on a plan to replace the Nationalists with the Communists as China's representatives in the UN. To do this requires a favorable vote of seven of the eleven members of the Security Council; five of these votes are already reasonably sure, and the other two could readily be obtained from among Ecuador, Cuba and Egypt—if it were known in advance that the United States did not disapprove.

Two months ago, this American approval was taken for granted; but then a sharp change in the attitude of our government was seen. We have suddenly begun to wage the cold war aggressively throughout the world. We now retaliate instantly whenever any of our diplomats are interfered with, in the Iron Curtain countries. We answer Moscow's abuse with equally strong language. At the London conference of the North Atlantic Council, we promised to shoulder a very heavy part of the burden of rearming Western Europe, and strengthened our promise to fight if any Council nation is attacked. We are sending men, money and military supplies to the Southeast Asia areas threatened with Communist infiltration.

Among the causes for this new vigor in Washington is certainly Senator McCarthy and his false, but politically damaging, charges of Communism in the State Department. But beyond this, Messrs. Acheson and Truman are clearly convinced that the policy of getting tough with Russia works. They think it has worked in Western Europe, Greece and Turkey—assuming, as they do, that the Marshall Plan is part of that policy. In particular, they think it has worked in Berlin. They feel that Russia is now on the defensive in Europe, and that this may account for her recent somewhat more conciliatory attitude, even though she continues to stymie the work of the UN.

What did Stalin say to Lie? The *New Republic* did not have a reporter under the table, but it is not hard to deduce the main points from the known facts. Stalin said Russia does not want to withdraw from the UN. The walkouts will stop the instant the Chinese Communists are seated. Russia does not want a shooting war. She would be happy to have the cold war end. She is prepared to discuss, with a view to agreement, every present obstacle to understanding—atomic energy, peace treaties, Berlin, mutual restrictions on propaganda.

To see what reality lies behind this attitude, we must consider some of these questions separately.

Does Russia want to stay in the UN? There seems no doubt that she does. Russia has no sentimental feeling about the UN; Canada's Foreign Minister, Lester Pearson, is probably right when he says the USSR opposes any real achievements in world progress by an organization dominated by capitalistic countries. Nevertheless, Russia finds the UN useful both as listening post and as propaganda sounding board. If she cannot, through it, achieve action favorable to herself, she can still prevent much unfavorable action which might be taken if she and her satellites were absent.

Does Russia fear a shooting war in the near future? The best guess is that she does not. The Russians believe that the Western powers are most unlikely to fight unless attacked, and that therefore, for the present at least, the decision on war or peace is in their own hands.

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Does Russia want the cold war to end? This one is difficult to answer. Moscow's only test is whether the cold war aids or hampers the advance of Communism throughout the world. Military preparations by the United States and other Western powers are a glorified public-works project, bolstering up the capitalist economy, which the Russians have repeatedly said was on the point of collapse. The Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine have checked the advance of Communism everywhere they have been used, either by military means or by influencing the electorate. The burden of war preparation inside the USSR is tremendous; and even in a country where public opinion need not be conciliated, the standard of living of the mass of the people cannot be pushed too low. On the whole, the Russians might therefore well believe their crusade would advance better without the cold war than with it.

Should we try to keep the Russians in the UN? Hysteria in this country is now so great that many people are frightened to answer yes, including Secretary Acheson and President Truman. Nevertheless, that is the answer. To accept former President Hoover's proposal, and expel the Communist bloc at Lake Success, is to say that agreement is impossible and atomic war is the only solution. It is also to demonstrate that you do not really believe in the power of Western political and economic democracy to win their way in the world on their own merits. Our best and only hope is to keep the UN functioning, to use it as a vehicle for raising the standard of living among the impoverished millions around the world, to outperform the Communists everywhere. If we emphasize this side of the struggle we can set the Russians back on their heels, and turn the cold war into a triumph.

Senator McCarthy might still go down in history as the man who started the Third World War. We must not permit it. Trygve Lie, it is clear, has brought back from Moscow no magic formula, no peace plan which the West could or should accept in toto. The Russians are just as hard to deal with as ever, and that is very hard indeed. Once we get them back in the UN, we are no better off than before they walked out. Nevertheless, Lie's plan for restoring the UN should be adopted—not as appeasement of the Russians, but to keep open the door to the future, a door which must not be slammed shut to the sound of atomic bombs.

THE WEEK

CALIFORNIA'S PRIMARY

June 6 is Primary Day in California, the day when the nation's fastest-growing population faces the nation's fastest-growing problems.

Natural resources are shrinking in California. Slums and relief rolls are multiplying. So are scare headlines about Reds under beds. The real choices for the state have been further obscured by the cross-filing by candidates, the division within labor, the heavy influx of Southern voters, the huge expenditures by conservatives, the blackout suffered by liberal candidates in California's conservative press, and undercover sabotage of Fair Deal candidates by Democratic bosses.

The Fair Deal banner has been carried in California by Helen Gahagan Douglas and James Roosevelt. Arthur Caylor explained in the San Francisco *News*, "such figures as County Chairman Bill Malone want neither Douglas nor Roosevelt." They want a conservative state and undisputed control of federal patronage. They gave no support to Roosevelt; they raised more than $200,000 to defeat Mrs. Douglas with Manchester Boddy in the Democratic primary.

Boddy did his best to fight fair. But he was brought down at the end to the bedrock of McCarthyism. He referred constantly to Mrs. Douglas' supporters as the "red hots" out to establish "a political beachhead from which to launch an un-American attack against the United States on behalf of Soviet Russia." Effective or not among Democrats, these charges could only benefit Republican candidate Richard Nixon, co-author of the Mundt-Nixon bill.

AFTER THE MARSHALL PLAN

The world's most important center for economic information is now the Economic Commission for Europe in Geneva. When that body warns of bad trouble ahead, as it has just done, it is time to stop, look and listen.

The ECE's prediction is contained in its latest analysis of what will happen after the Marshall Plan ends in 1952. The report points out that while the Plan is intended chiefly to help Europe, in fact the operations are worldwide. Of the $5 billion Europe now receives annually from the United States, $2 billion is used to "fill the dollar gap" each year in other parts of the world —chiefly Latin America and Oceania. Productivity in Europe has expanded remarkably since the end of the war; in many of its aspects it is far higher than it was in the thirties; but European exports to the United States have not expanded proportionately and a tremendous dollar shortage—probably about $2 billion annually—must be expected beginning in '53. For this there is only one reason: the continuing stubborn refusal of the United States to buy European goods. We still maintain our old debtor psychology which goes back before the First World War. We still think it is good to have a far larger volume of exports than of imports, even if these exports cannot be paid for and must be given away—which, in large measure, is what we have been doing ever since 1920.

The ECE report warns of what will happen to American business if trade, beginning in '53, has to be balanced at

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a low level. Europe will cut down as much as possible on the purchase of American exports, including textiles, rubber goods, engineering products, automobiles, tobacco, cotton and food. In part, these items will be bought from other non-European countries, in part supplied by increased productivity inside Europe itself. Europe will buy from us only the absolute minimum of things which cannot be obtained anywhere else—chiefly raw materials, including non-ferrous metals.

The ECE says rather grimly that trade between the United States and Europe, in '53 and thereafter, can be balanced either at a high level or a low one. A high level means prosperity, checkmating Communism, diminishing the danger of war. But a low level is what we shall get if we don't go to work on the problem, and fast. Thus far nothing of any importance is being done about it, on either side of the Atlantic.

VICTORY FOR THE FAIR DEAL

Senator Frank P. Graham's triumph proves again that North Carolina is the most progressive-minded of the Southern states. Dr. Graham polled approximately 50,000 votes more than Willis Smith, his leading opponent for the Democratic senatorial nomination, and came within about 10,000 votes of winning a clear majority over Smith and the two other contenders, former Senator Robert Rice Reynolds, the America Firster, and O. R. Boyd, an unknown.

Smith, a Raleigh corporation lawyer, tried all the tricks designed to arouse race prejudice which had worked so well against Claude Pepper in Florida. Letters hailing Senator Graham as the "friend of the Negro" were mailed to white voters. Graham's action in nominating a young Negro as a second alternate for a West Point appointment was made the special target of Smith's attacks.

Results show that these attempts to stir up race hatred hurt Smith with many middle-class voters. Unlike Pepper, Senator Graham had no economic bloc aligned against him. The liberal Graham had at least a little support in practically every group in the state. Almost half the daily press was on his side, and there were Graham-backers scattered throughout the business and professional community.

Smith is entitled to claim a run-off primary on June 24 if he wishes, but to win he would have to get four-fifths of the Reynolds and Boyd votes.

In attempting to unseat Senator Graham, Smith denounced the entire Fair Deal program. By giving him a wide margin over Smith, North Carolinians have recorded a personal vote of confidence in Graham and, in so doing, refuse to reject the Truman policies.

A BILL TO HELP BANKERS

The banking interests have quietly pushed a bill through the Senate that would cut the premium they pay for federal deposit insurance by 55 percent. Now pending in the House Banking and Currency Committee, the bill (S.2822) would reduce the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation's trust fund designed to protect the small depositor. Established during the early days of the New Deal, the FDIC has worked so well that in the past seven years not a single depositor in any insured bank has suffered loss because of bank failure.

The bankers claim that the $120 million they pay annually for deposit-insurance premiums is a heavy burden (despite the fact that they were relieved of paying interest on demand deposits when the Act creating the FDIC was established). According to profit figures, the banks are in no way suffering. Their net profits in 1949, after taxes, increased by 12 percent over 1948; operating earnings reached a record of $3,607 million, and income from loans reached an all-time record of $1,760 million. Bank stockholders shared in the prosperity with a seven-percent increase in dividends.

The bankers also claim that the FDIC's reserve of $1.2 billion is enough to take care of any emergency. The FDIC has warned that the fund is pitifully small compared with $153 billion of deposits in insured banks and that in a period of severe financial stress, such as the collapse of the banking system in 1933, it would in no way cover the losses.

The bill carries a provision to increase deposit insurance from $5,000 to $10,000 for each depositor. But the FDIC would be given less than half its present premiums to do double its present job. Instead of increasing protection for a depositor, the bill would decrease his actual insurance.

MORSE TO THE RIGHT

PORTLAND (NR correspondent)

Senator Wayne Morse's primary victory has been described outside his state as a triumph for liberalism. But Oregonians take no such view of their maverick Senator's renomination.

Morse's whole campaign was a series of efforts to convince conservative Republican voters that he really was one of them. To do this, he repudiated national health insurance, the Brannan Farm Plan, and even the establishment of a Columbia Valley Authority to handle sensibly the inseparable flood, power and irrigation problems of the Northwest.

Die-hard Republicans—financed by a few large industrialists and doctors—sought to smear Morse as a "Socialist" and traitor to his party, an admirer of Harry Bridges, and a rubber stamp for President Truman. But the only candidate they could muster to oppose Morse was a primitive Republican, aptly named Hoover, a former deputy sheriff from Los Angeles. A barrage of Hearstian advertisements and billboards, and frenzied radio appeals, cut very little into the Morse vote. He beat Dave Hoover, of Deadwood, nearly two to one.

The anti-Morse campaign did drive the Oregon Senator to the Right, however—at least in his public pronouncements. Both Democratic and Republican liberals who have supported him were especially grieved when the Senator finally climbed off the fence and came out flat-footed against Truman's CVA proposal. They knew which horse Morse had decided to ride when E. C. Sammons, director of the Pacific Power and Light Company, remnant of the Electric Bond and Share empire, was announced as his campaign treasurer.

Old-time supporters of Morse—who knew him when he was the fighting dean of the Oregon Law School—would have forgiven him for making a temporary truce to get through the Republican primaries. But they feel it was not necessary to give as much ground as he did.

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The state's population shot up 60 percent since the last census, as logging camps and sawmills moved into the region's great Douglas fir forests. Most of the migrants are industrial workers, and for the first time in history Democrats have a majority of Oregon's registered voters.

Morse faces little opposition in the November election. His opponent is a conservative lawyer, a self-professed "Jeffersonian Democrat," who will probably attract more Republican than Democratic votes. The labor and liberal vote will go almost solidly to Morse.

Oregon political observers do not expect Morse's strength to carry the Republican state machine back into office. Voters of the Beaver State split their ticket readily. And for the first time the Democrats have put up an acceptable slate, with lots of fresh faces in place of the hacks who burdened the ticket in former years.

The leading Democrat is Austin Flegal, enlightened industrialist and state senator, who stumped the state for the CVA in his campaign for the Oregon governorship. Three of the four Democratic Congressional candidates have liberal records, and at least two stand a chance of cutting into the solid Republican delegation. Most of the credit for revitalizing Oregon's Democratic Party is given to Monroe Sweetland, National Committeeman, and Jim Goodsell, hard-working executive secretary.

An interesting sidelight of the campaign was the entry of young Eleanor Roosevelt Seagraves into the political arena. Although only a candidate for precinct committeewoman, "Sistie" Roosevelt headed a "Voters Committee for a Clean, Liberal Democratic Ticket." Working primarily in Portland, her committee distributed thousands of "Decent Democratic Slates," and helped garner enough votes to ensure nomination of the liberal Democratic candidate for Governor.

Whether Oregon's rejuvenated Democratic Party can displace the entrenched Republican machine may depend largely on whether Senator Morse really goes "down the line" for the GOP ticket. Many observers think he will, for during past campaigns he went above and beyond the call of party duty to stump for "Curly" Brooks, of Illinois, Henry C. Dworshak, of Idaho, and Harry P. Cain, of Washington.

Recently Morse told voters he would support Senator Taft for reëlection, even though he has repeatedly urged repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. Oregon newspapermen say this proves either that politics makes strange bedfellows or that Wayne Morse is a very ambitious fellow.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY PIRACY

The House Judiciary Committee has reported out the controversial "tidelands-oil" bill which would give states clear title to submerged coastal lands seaward and police powers over waters out to the edge of the "continental shelf" (roughly 90 to 125 miles in the Gulf of Mexico, where some oil wells now are producing). Eight members of the committee, including Chairman Emanuel Celler (D, N. Y.), have issued a stinging minority report terming the bill a "calling card for war."

"Oil, today, is comparable to the gold of the nineteenth century," Celler says in the minority report. "Its quest has stimulated greed and plunder, and the oil buccaneers of the twentieth century have much more to gain than Captain Kidd, Lafitte, and the motley crews who made the history of piracy so colorful. If oil were not the sunken treasure of our day, these bills would never see the light of a committee room."

After the 1947 Supreme Court ruling, in US vs. California, that leases on all offshore properties were under federal control, the oil interests turned to Congress for help. The present bill, which would repeal the Court's decision and deny the right of the federal government to take and use the sub-ocean mineral resources without payment to the coastal states, is the result. Despite the California decision, Texas and Louisiana have continued to issue offshore leases and to accept bonus payments and rentals for them. "Calling such action high-handed is an understatement," Celler charged. "In effect, with these leases the states in question just thumbed their noses at the Supreme Court and the United States. Common decency would require the offending states to turn over to the US Treasury all royalties and rentals from such leases of federal lands." Both states are defendants in a suit filed by the government and now pending in the Supreme Court. Oral arguments before the Court have been held, but unless the Court acts during the next two weeks, the case will go over to the fall session.

The minority committee report points out that the claim of states to title to lands beneath navigable waters is basically false. "Congress is asked to . . . give to the states the valuable rights of all the people of the country. . . . To put it bluntly, the United States is asked to give away its possessions and then in time of war buy them back at the prevailing market price."

The proposed tidelands bill contains no provisions against control of our oil resources by a few powerful interests. "It has always been a federal policy to prevent such undue concentration," the minority report said, "but under this bill there is no limitation placed on individual holdings. . . . The right of all the people of the United States, acting through their national government, to use this oil is like the personal right to breathe the air—necessary to the maintenance of constitutional vigor."

The bill now before the House Rules Committee would destroy that right.

REORGANIZATION PROGRESS

A major part of President Truman's proposals to streamline government agencies will soon be put into effect. During the past two weeks, the Senate has passed all but five of the reorganization plans recommended by the bipartisan commission, headed by Herbert Hoover. Designed to make government operation more efficient, the reorganization plans took two years of research and approximately $2 million. Most of the plans set up more direct lines of authority in government by centralizing responsibility in key agency heads. When President Truman submitted the plans to Congress two months ago he said they would "take us well along the road toward more effective, economical and responsible government."

Although everyone seems to agree that government spending should be cut, several of the plans met stiff opposition, especially from large business organizations and government agencies, which objected to the shakeups necessary to carry them out. The Citizens

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Committee for the Hoover Report charged that "vested interests appear more anxious to 'save their own skins' than they are to save the taxpayer a possible quarter of a billion dollars." Plan I, reorganization of the Treasury, was killed by a vote of 65 to 13. Senator William Benton (D, Conn.) blamed opposition on "a national pressure campaign" by the banks. But much of the blame can be placed on Secretary John Snyder, who, as usual, sided with his old banking buddies and opposed the plan. The controversial Plan XII, to abolish the National Labor Relations Board's office of general counsel, was defeated 53 to 30 on a resolution by Senator Robert A. Taft (R, Ohio) calling for its rejection. A coalition of 35 Republicans and 18 Democrats, mostly from the South, voted against the NLRB proposal. Twenty-five Democrats and five Republicans voted for it.

The Senate also rejected plans that would have revised the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Communications Commission and the Agriculture Department. The fact that Southern Democrats had done some log-rolling the previous week during the FEPC debate was evident in the roll call. On the ICC, 33 Democrats and 33 Republicans voted against it; on the FCC, the proposal was defeated by a coalition of 24 Democrats and 26 Republicans.

Three other plans were challenged by Senators. An attempt by Senator Alexander Wiley (R, Wis.) to block Commerce Department reshuffling was rejected, 43 to 29. By the same vote, a resolution by Senator George Aiken (R, Vt.) to kill the plan that would shift the job of planning non-public works to the Housing and Home Finance Agency was defeated. The Senate also defeated, 69 to 7, a resolution by Senator Olin D. Johnston (D, S.C.) against centralization of the custodial functions in the General Services Administration.

Dr. Robert L. Johnson, chairman of the Citizens Committee, has urged the President to resubmit some of the defeated proposals. Actually, many members of Congress have introduced separate legislation embodying ideas growing out of the reports. Thirty-two House bills and 26 Senate bills that would carry out specific recommendations of the Commission have been introduced. Bills to unify federal medical services, modernize the government's accounting procedure, to institute a genuine merit system in selection and promotion of federal employees, to take the Post Office "out of politics" by having postmasters selected by the Postmaster General under civil-service rules, are pending in Congressional committees. Johnson has estimated that the passage of these bills would save "$500 million annually in operating costs."

A WISE DECISION

The surprise agreement between General Motors and the UAW-CIO gives GM a real advantage over the rest of the auto industry and marks an important forward step for Walter Reuther's union. Having a five-year contract with the UAW, not subject to reopening for any reason, GM can plan its sales campaigns with the assurance of an uninterrupted flow of production. Having won so advantageous a contract without the strike he had feared would be necessary, Reuther can now concentrate on forcing Ford, Chrysler and other companies to come up to the GM standard. In terms of labor politics, the GM victory again puts Reuther out in front as a union bargainer and thus establishes him as the most likely successor to the presidency of the CIO.

The pension plan which GM workers now have provides for $100 a month, including social security, at 65 after 25 years' service. It will be jointly administered by the company and the union. Any employee with 15 years of service who becomes totally and permanently disabled after the age of 50 will receive a $50-$90 monthly disability pension until he comes under the regular pension system at 65.

GM will pay half the cost of a Blue Cross and Blue Shield hospital medical plan and will give bigger accident and sickness benefits, ranging from $31 to $45 a week.

Perhaps the most important economic gain under the new UAW contract is GM's agreement to a guaranteed annual increase in the basic wage rate of four cents an hour as labor's reward for increased productivity. The President's Council of Economic Advisers has estimated that the productivity of manufacturing workers has increased approximately four percent a year since the war and has recommended that this fact should guide national wage policy. The success of the UAW in committing GM to this principle may be historic, especially if Reuther now insists that the rest of the auto industry agree to it as well. The provision that wages be adjusted upward or downward in relation to the cost-of-living index (a part of previous UAW contracts) is continued in the new agreement, but this contract provides a floor below which wages may not be reduced, thereby protecting GM workers against actual cuts in purchasing power.

General Motors evidently learned something from the costly holdout by Chrysler in negotiations for a new union contract. The 100-day strike against that company and the bitterness which attended the final settlement between Chrysler and the UAW were a model of poor public relations. GM wisely decided to run no such risk.

THE WASHINGTON POST

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OUTSIDE AMERICA

The fact that France's anti-Communist government kept Frédéric Joliot-Curie, a militant Communist, in the post of National High Commissioner for Atomic Energy during the cold war must have puzzled many Americans. Yet the reasons, both scientific and political, for keeping him seemed compelling from the official French point of view.

Joliot-Curie was by far the best atomic physicist in the country, one of the best in the whole world. Almost single-handed, he had set up the nation's center of atomic research and created an atomic pile. All the scientists working with him were passionately devoted to him on a personal basis. The center wasn't working on the use of atomic energy for military purposes, nor was it even part of the national defense system. It was concerned with peacetime uses of atomic energy, far more important in France than in the United States, Great Britain or Canada because of the relative lack of other sources of energy.

Until very recently all of Joliot-Curie's public statements had suggested that he wasn't letting his political views on the cold war interfere with his wholehearted dedication to strict scientific neutrality, or with his patriotism as a good Frenchman. The French government took these statements at their face value. In France, the right way to fight Communism on the home front is very far from the one Senator McCarthy or his supporters seem to find appropriate in the United States. At a time when the Communists are appealing for militant zeal and self-sacrifice the need is not to track down the devils—the crypto-Communists, the guilty by association or osmosis, the intellectual fellow travelers and the sympathizers twice and thrice removed. It is to avoid the alienation of the working classes and the honest friends of peace, and, above all, to avoid the making of political saints martyred in the cause of social justice and peace.

The official statement announcing Joliot-Curie's removal from his post used the word regret. In this case, the word was honestly, sincerely, appropriately used. Both anti-Communists and Communists knew that the government really did regret having to take the step. And very few Frenchmen disagreed that the step was necessary. But, thanks to McCarthy, there was a difference of opinion about *why* it was necessary.

The fact is that Joliot-Curie had literally forced Georges Bidault's hand by making a statement on the occasion of the French Communist Party's congress which amounted to an announcement that he was indeed a patriot, but on behalf of the Soviet Union, not of France. The government regretted losing his scientific services. It regretted equally having to make a martyr of him.

But, as General Marshall has said, McCarthy's methods "confuse our friends abroad, undermine and weaken our position before the world, and eventually lend assistance to the powers that would destroy us." An anti-Communist Left newspaper, *Combat* of Paris, interpreted the regret as meaning that the government had been forced to yield to State Department pressure to remove the great scientist. And many Frenchmen, who might otherwise have considered the removal fully justified, were disturbed.

The case of Joliot-Curie isn't the only one in which the McCarthy methods have created false impressions in France. The French National Assembly lifted the diplomatic immunity of two Communist members who had openly participated in subversion and sabotage during the bloody rioting at the port of Brest. The Constitution justifies this step when parliamentarians are caught in the act of breaking the law. Still, the two members were involved in protests against the arrival of MAP arms and against the government's wage policies; and the notoriety of the McCarthy witch-hunt makes it possible for many non-Communist Frenchmen to believe American get-tough tactics are being compulsorily exported to France.

If anything American should be exported to France, it is a sensible wage policy. Recent strikes have had the support not only of the Communist-dominated CGT (General Federation of Labor) but also of the anti-Communist Workers Force and the Christian Trade Unions. The Roman Catholic cardinals and bishops have come out repeatedly in favor of strikers' requests for higher wages and better conditions. The Paris *Figaro*, far on the political Right, says the right way to fight Communism is a "struggle which is able to reconcile the general interest with the legitimate aspirations of labor by providing the greatest possible social justice and the lowering of class barriers." Even Charles de Gaulle is courting labor by the statement: "Workers, it is with you, first of all, that I want to build the new France."

But, in the absence of US pressure to force the French government toward progress in the field of labor policy, the Communists still hold the power in that field. Intellectuals on the Right are dazzled by American technological marvels. Intellectuals on the Left spread gloom about America's political misdeeds and their consequences. For example, Claude Bourdet says: "Americanization has destroyed the very unity it was supposed to have created in Europe, has split the peoples into two camps, has helped wipe out the forces of the Left." In the long run, France does need American techniques of modernization; also in the long run, America will probably find out that its technical know-how needs to be supplemented in the political field by some European *savoir-faire*. But in the short run, labor policy is a large part of the field in which Communism must be fought in France and elsewhere in Western Europe. And here, the Communist operators, not the theoreticians and intellectuals either of the Right or Left, count.

French and other Western European liberals welcome the valiant efforts being made by American liberals to cope with Senator McCarthy's wrong-way crusading against Communism. But they are disturbed by the failure of American liberals to recognize that in Western Europe, power and progress aren't in separate compartments. There can be no power for democracy, hence for anti-Communism, without progress in social and labor legislation. PERCY WINNER

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BEHIND TURKEY'S ELECTION RESULTS

by J. L. Teller

THE CONDUCT of the government voted into office in the elections to Turkey's Majlis (Parliament) on May 14 will probably seem dull and anti-climactic by comparison with the election results themselves, because there is as little difference, fundamentally, between the Republican People's Party, swept from power after 30 years of mailed-fist rule, and the Democrat Party, carried in by a landslide, as there is between Thomas E. Dewey and Robert A. Taft.

The drama lies rather in the fact that the Turks were given a free and honest election by the very government which maintained, until 1945, a one-party system, and scrapped all but five of the political parties it had licensed since that date. The first multi-party elections, held in 1946, were anything but honest, and the only previous fling at free elections—in 1930—was a sham contest between the Republican People's Party and the Free Republican Party, a fictitious opposition launched and sponsored by the government to attract the votes of the disaffected, and scrapped after it had served its purpose.

Many factors combined to give Turkey a free election at this time. High cost of living, a chaotic economy, and popular resentment against repression by an incompetent government bureaucracy, formed the psychological, economic and political backdrop for the elections. Although the opposition's scorn was directed against the bureaucracy, it was the civil service that gave the Democrat Party some of its electoral strength, judging from a preëlection straw poll by *Vatan*, an independent newspaper. However, American influence was a major factor here, as in Greece. Although the US had probably no party preference in Turkey, and used no evident pressure as it did in Greece, President Inonu was left in no doubt that the US wished the Turks to be given full opportunity to exercise their franchise freely. Both Inonu and the US knew that the Turks entertained hopes that Washington's material aid to their country would bring about free elections, and both knew that the US would lose face if these hopes were thwarted.

The abolition of the one-party system in Turkey in 1945 was Inonu's first genuflection in the direction of the democratic allies of World War II. His party had never lost the shrewd realism which enabled its founders to direct the successful revolution that brought them to power. Shunned by the World War I Allies, Turkey signed an agreement with the Soviets in March, 1921; and when Fascism and Nazism were in the ascendancy, Turkey demonstrated her adaptability by imprinting more strongly on her economy the features of the guild system, while exploiting the democracies' appeasement-mindedness to annex Alexandretta. When Hitler burgeoned forth in 1933, Turkey suddenly launched state-controlled industries and clamped down on private enterprise, which had, till then, enjoyed special privileges. Labor was bridled from the start, and still is denied the right to strike.

In the early years of World War II, following the Mussolini-Hitler pattern and precedents set by his able predecessor Ataturk, President Inonu launched a ruthless campaign which liquidated, economically, merchants of Armenian, Greek and Jewish origin who controlled most of the commercial enterprises not under government control. The legal instrument for this liquidation was a war-profits tax. Assessment boards, which arrived at their decision arbitrarily and *in camera*, deliberately assessed the property of non-Moslems at many times its value. Inonu was thus further advancing the Ataturk principles of the corporate state and a monolithic Turk people.

When Inonu turned his eyes toward the West in 1945, a reversal of policy became evident almost immediately. His first steps were to announce the licensing of political parties and to cease some of the legal excesses against minority groups. With a deferent but greedy eye at the bounties of the Truman Doctrine, he increasingly committed himself verbally to democratic principles.

The Democrat Party, emerging as the advocate of free press, free enterprise and full equality for all citizens, pressed hard for the implementation of these professions of faith, forcing the government to give ground. As the elections approached, the Democrat Party pressed successfully for guarantees that these would not be the sham they had been in 1946. Perhaps because he did not anticipate a serious reversal (even as the Democrats did not anticipate a landslide victory), Inonu provided these guarantees and kept faith. He hoped, of course, that this would enhance his government's prestige overseas and help him achieve certain foreign-policy aims that are also the aims of the Democrat Party—admission into the North Atlantic Pact community, the drawing up of a subsidiary pact covering the Eastern Mediterranean, and admission into the Council of Europe.

Realizing that rigid state controls had not advanced Turkey's commerce and industry, and wishing to benefit fully from all sources of overseas bounty, Inonu himself had recently begun to make passes at private enterprise. He had committed his government to participate in the establishment of an Industrial Development Bank

J. L. Teller is an authority on the Middle East whose articles have appeared frequently in the New Republic.

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which will offer technical and managerial aid to private enterprises. His commitment came when the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development undertook to provide 50 percent of the new bank's capitalization. The government's Central Bank is to provide 25 percent of the capital, and the government is to guarantee interest to Turkish shareholders who are to make available the other 25 percent.

Democratic processes, however, are by no means assured in Turkey. It remains to be seen how the Democrat Party will implement and interpret the planks in its platform dealing with free enterprise and free trade unionism. Ataturk launched government into industry and business when, after a decade of special privileges at the expense of subjugated labor, private enterprise showed none of the vision and vigor that were necessary to develop the national economy. It remains to be seen whether free enterprise has now matured. At any rate, Celal Bayar, the Democrat chieftain, is a man of ability and integrity and is expected to prevent a wild rampage by private industry.

Typical of the contradiction in Turkish politics is Bayar himself. He now heads the advocates of free enterprise, although he was charged in 1932 with the task of regimenting business. Most of the men who have now rocketed into power are no less heirs of Ataturk than those deposed. Most of them formerly belonged to the Republican People's Party. The election results are a repudiation of Inonu's rather than of Ataturk's principles. Ataturk himself urged that his party be ever revolutionary, and ever capable of revision and change.

The dismal failure of the Nation Party speaks well for the intelligence of Turkey's electorate. This party, whose platform is a demagogic admixture of rightist and leftist planks, is basically clerical and anti-Occidental, thus repudiating, without admitting it, the two basic principles of the Ataturk revolution. Advocating neutrality in the East and West struggle, the Nation Party speaks grandiloquently of Islamic solidarity; professing the Ataturk principle of separation of Church and State, it advocates the setting up of a sovereign (a euphemism for parallel) religious authority.

REPORT FROM THE HIGH PLAINS

by A. G. Mezerik

MILE-HIGH DENVER, the "Queen of the Plains," is a vantage point from which to see what is happening on the farms of the high prairies and the eastern slope of the Rockies. The dust storms are blowing again in this immediate area. Drought and insect blight, plus the soil-snatching winds, have already played havoc with crops in Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Kansas and eastern Colorado. The farmers of this region, with half of their expected wheat crop already lost, are deeply troubled. Visions of drought disasters are made doubly real for them by the impact of the slump in prices which has already hit all agriculture.

Farm purchasing power has declined nationally by $10 billion—one-third—in three years. That drop has special meaning for prairie farmers. They are not the self-sufficient agriculturists so often pictured by city dwellers when farmers are mentioned. These farmers raise grain, which cannot be eaten until it is milled. The milling is largely in the hands of a monopoly which, in the face of an expected loss of 125 million bushels in the winter-wheat crop, has already announced an increase of 15 cents per 100 pounds in the price of flour—an increase which both farmers and city workers will pay. Like city workers, these farmers must pay for most of their necessities out of cash income—and they must pay for all their machinery and supplies. Cash income for one-crop farmers is therefore not so very different from cash income of city workers. With their rapidly dwindling income, the farmers will buy less, which, of course, will affect the workers and businessmen in that vicious circle so familiar to farmers.

There is an old axiom among rural people. They believe that "every depression is farm-led and farm-fed." They back up their belief with figures: farmers, 18 percent of America's population, are getting only 11 percent of the national income—and farmers' income includes the much publicized subsidies. Unless new laws are enacted, farm income will decline another $2 billion in 1950. Meanwhile, 1949 has already witnessed large drops in farm assets and cash, and, inevitably, an upsurge—$800 million—in farm debts. Coupled now with dust storms, a depression foretells new "Okies" and "Arkies," with the poorest and medium-size farmers forced off the land once again.

While the fear of dust storms is strongest here at Denver's doorstep, danger of drought extends all through the intermountain area and the northern part of the Great Plains, where a unique set of weather conditions has left the subsoil bone-dry. Winter snowfall was normal in most of this region but the ground was frozen solid before the first snows. The last heavy snows came before the ground was defrosted—melting quickly to flood downstream areas. High spring temperatures guarantee an onslaught of bugs and dry weather brings a

A. G. Mezerik is a free-lance writer living in New York City who makes frequent trips to all parts of the United States. His most recent book is Revolt of the South and West.

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threat of dust storms. Added to depressed prices, the prospect is bleak.

The farmers from Texas to the Dakotas, however, are not in a mood to be forced into bankruptcy or off their lands. They are citizens of a region which in the past has showed more agrarian militancy than has any other in the United States. Populism, the Farm Holiday movement, the Non-Partisan Leagues, the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota and the Wisconsin Progressive Party are all part of their traditions. Many are veterans of these movements. Now they are restive again and, as before, the family-type farmers are progressive.

Denver is the headquarters of the National Farmers Union, the only militant of the three major national farm organizations. Its strength is most concentrated in the prairie and mountain states. Proud of the fact that it consists of basic American radicals, the Farmers Union has, by word and deed, shown that it will not be dissuaded by red herrings and witch-hunts from winning its objectives of fighting monopoly and building up regional developments, improving public health and educational services and liberalizing our foreign policy—as well as achieving a true parity of income with the rest of America. James G. Patton, recently reëlected president by acclamation, stated the case for basic American radicalism when, to the applause of the members, he said: "If any farmer wants a conservative organization, he should leave the National Farmers Union and join one."

These new stirrings in the West will not be put to rest quickly or readily. Involved is the national problem of deciding on a constructive policy toward all our food producers. Presently the country pays attention to subsidies and surpluses. Crying for consideration is the future of all these millions of people who make farming their way of life. To answer these human needs calls for a new farm policy based, not on the pressure blocs of the big factory-farm operations in cattle, wool, cotton, sugar and other crops, but on the family-type farm, which stresses the production not only of good food but of good human beings. The most progressive farm leaders realize that they are a long way from that kind of policy. Most of the present crop of legislators are loath to desert their special-interest backers, as the family farmers have first-hand reason to know.

Throughout this Central West members of the Farmers Union have organized caravans, which have taken them to Washington. There the farmers have told their Senators and Representatives what they want and need in the way of legislation. In Washington the farmers found that most of their legislators —and particularly those who make the ardent speeches about how right and wonderful are "grass-roots" people —are anything but pleased to have the "grass-roots" move right in on them. From this experience, and on Congress' voting record, the farmers have decided that changes are necessary. They want to remove the ordinary run-of-the-range Western politician who has been more of a local overseer for Eastern financial, mining, transportation and industrial interests than a representative of his constituents.

Typical of the coming political struggles which grow out of this drive is the impending Senatorial race in Colorado, in which the central figure is a young Democrat, Representative John Carroll. Prodded by the fighting family farmers, Carroll has decided to run for the seat now occupied by incumbent Senator Eugene Millikin (R). In addition to having the backing of the family farmers, Carroll will be supported by organized labor and by many of those independent citizens—particularly the young people who elected a Democratic Governor some years ago. This is the same coalition which—with the growing Democratic Party—revitalized Denver when it elected young and progressive Quigg Newton as Mayor and sent Carroll to the House of Representatives.

Carroll's bid for the Senate will be opposed by Denver's stuffy, old-line citizenry—of whom there are a very substantial number in this citadel of second-generation money.

By discouraging industry and nearly all other forms of development these apers of a landed aristocracy have won a dubious distinction for Denver. It is the only large center west of the Mississippi which registered no real gain during the war. The political and social viewpoint of this ruling clique is articulated by the Denver Chamber of Commerce, which only recently sent all its members a copy of John T. Flynn's *The Road Ahead*. The mailing was the latest, according to a member, in a line of stuff which invariably "expresses the view of

DRAWING BY CHARLES ALLEN

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the most discredited, repudiated and reactionary elements in the country."

The leaders of the Denver old guard do not give their younger and more progressive fellow citizens much respect, time or attention. For ten days I talked to representatives of the top industrial and financial interests in Denver. Not one mentioned the name of Secretary of Agriculture Charles Brannan—a Denver citizen—and only one mentioned Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman, also of Denver, though never in its long history has the city had two members in a Presidential cabinet. James Patton, who attracts perhaps more attention nationally and even internationally than does any other Denver resident not in government, might just as well live in Toledo or New York for all the attention Denver's leading citizens pay him.

Denver's people and the entire Central and Mountain West suffer by this ostracism of the region's progressive citizens, since necessary reforms and programs are killed in the process. Largely because of the attitude of the ruling group, the West is still sluggish, not ready to lead a militant fight for equality of opportunity. Meanwhile it is burdened with Eastern financial and industrial control, and with politicians subservient to those interests and to the narrow sectional economic groups—the sheep and cattle men who would destroy the grazing, mining and lumbering interests that would gut the forests—and to all the other advocates of the private right to do public damage.

The conservative forces which have managed by one stratagem or another to retain both economic and political control of this region for so many years are still very strong. But the stirrings are real and growing. The signs are not yet unmistakable, but in the ferment lies the promise of a reawakening of that basic American radicalism which should be the West's proudest tradition.

INDO-CHINA'S YEAR OF DECISION

by Frank Robertson

IN SPITE OF the optimism which the higher French officials in the new state of Vietnam wear like a uniform of the day, sooner or later they all admit that their situation is "very difficult." The French have granted independence—with strings—to the new nation at a time when it is dangerously threatened from without and within by the movement of world change that is stirring Asia.

The French, having made a compromise which may well prove inadequate, are clinging on as best they can, prolonging their stay with guns and bullets, and political machinations in the limited field of maneuver left. They are finding it hard to maintain a compromise with an earthquake.

Vietnam, "The Land of the South," comprises Cochin-China, the former French colony, and Annam and Tonkin, which previously were French protectorates. The kingdoms of Cambodia and Laos make up what is known collectively as Indo-China.

The new nation came into being on paper early in January, when accords signed almost one year earlier by President Vincent Auriol and Emperor Bao Dai were ratified by the French Parliament. (Bao Dai, who renounced his emperorship to become chief of the new state, is still given his royal title.)

When Vietnam became a nation, its Chief of State, thanks to French arms, might have traveled the crumbling roads of about two-thirds of Cochin-China, driving between rice paddies—many now neglected—stretching to the horizon, or past great rubber plantations, today threatened by uncurbed undergrowth. But he could travel most roads only during the daylight hours, and in many parts of his contested domain he would have to go in convoy.

In Annam, a long narrow strip of land on the South China Sea, he could visit only those scattered towns that had air fields handy. The enemy holds 250 miles of Annam coastline and most of the hinterland.

And while the roads of the Tonkin delta are open from eight a.m., after the mine-disposal squads have come in from their often fruitful patrols, until five p.m., when the troops prepare to retire into their forts for the night, it cannot be said that the new ruler could travel much in Tonkin, even by day. The delta comprises no more than one-eighth of the northern province. Beyond it, in the surrounding hills and mountains and jungles, the French hold only a few towns, some of which no longer are accessible by road, even for heavily guarded convoys.

While the United States, Britain and other nations were preparing to grant full recognition to Bao Dai, their cold-war enemy acted too. Communist China, Russia and the satellite countries also recognize Vietnam: the Vietnam of Communist leader Ho Chi-minh, whose Vietminh (League of Independence for Vietnam), a Communist-dominated coalition, controls far more territory and many more supporters—active and passive, willing and unwilling—than Bao Dai.

World Communism, which has such virile and expanding representation inside Vietnam, is of course the big threat to the security of the new French-backed gov-

Frank Robertson was a war correspondent in the Southwest Pacific and is now reporting events in Southwest Asia, contributing regularly to the Christian Science Monitor and the Observer, of London.

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ernment. But it is not fighting alone in Vietnam, for the nationalist movement, consciously or unconsciously, is on the side of Communism. This nationalism finds its easiest expression in strong anti-French sentiment. The movement does not support Bao Dai (looking forward to the day when the French may leave Vietnam) because most of the nationalists are firmly convinced that the 36-year-old leader is a puppet of France.

Whether he is a puppet is academic; the fact remains that most Vietnamese intellectuals believe him to be, and are withholding their support. Bao Dai met with repeated refusals when he tried to get many of Vietnam's best men to join his government. The Vietnamese newspapers give a pretty fair idea of the amount of support the new Chief of State enjoys. In Hanoi, capital of Tonkin, only one of the six vernacular papers supports Bao Dai. In Saigon the average is a little better—two out of eight.

Neutral foreigners who know Bao Dai believe he is sincere, in a wishful sort of way, in his desire for complete independence for Vietnam. But they believe too that he is anxious to preserve his personal position and his sizable property holdings, and they assume that he realizes very well that as matters stand now he cannot hope to remain long in power without strong French support. And yet, because the continued presence of the French must and will act as an irritant to public sentiment—Communist or nationalist—the very fact that French troops and officials must remain to bolster Bao Dai is perhaps the greatest threat to his position and to the security of his new government.

Since his return to Vietnam in March, 1949, Bao Dai has lived mainly in his palace at Dalat, the mountain resort not far from Saigon. Much of his time has been devoted to hunting and to the company of a select group of Annamite women friends. Two correspondents who were granted an interview recently were instructed beforehand not to ask His Majesty questions about political affairs, the military situation or the state of Vietnam's economy. They spent an interesting if hardly informative 40 minutes discussing tiger hunting.

Bao Dai does not give an impression of personal weakness, however. He has an air of cool dignity, and he is clearly intelligent. He doesn't seem pretentious; on the contrary he appears to favor informality. When he stepped from his private plane on a recent visit to Hanoi, to be greeted by massed military bands and beribboned officials, the burly young ruler was wearing black and white shoes, slacks, and a canary-colored pullover under a tan sports jacket.

Few people know what his antagonist, Ho Chi-minh, wears. The wispy, 56-year-old Annamite Communist (whose present name, meaning He Who Shines, is one of a series of eight or ten he has assumed during his long revolutionary career in Paris, Moscow, China, Thailand and Hong Kong) has remained very much a man of mystery since December, 1946. It was then that the Vietminh lost Hanoi after a bloody battle with the French, and the defeated forces left for the hills, carrying 400 French men, women and children along with them.

Apart from five Catholic priests who were released recently after three years of jungle detention, nothing has been heard of these hostages, and little more of a personal nature has been heard about Ho Chi-minh. The French Surete, whose agents are everywhere, has not turned up anyone who has seen him for many months. But in spite of this, very few people believe the recurrent rumors that he is dead.

Ho Chi-minh's headquarters is said to be only 60 or 80 miles northwest of Hanoi, hidden among the jungle mountains of north Tonkin. For some time the French have made no serious attempt to go into the mountains after the enemy.

In Tonkin, they are fully enough occupied trying to hold on to the areas they already control. More than 70,000 of the 110,000 French troops in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos (the two kingdoms are lightly garrisoned, and for the time being are not centers of conflict) are now concentrated in Tonkin, supplemented by a number of the 40,000 Vietnamese troops bearing French arms. They are not there because Tonkin borders on Red China, but because there are probably at least 70,000 Vietminh under arms in the area.

After a trip into the countryside near Hanoi, it is not hard to understand why the French are on the defensive in Tonkin, the key military zone.

I drove out of Hanoi toward Vietminh territory with a lean, worried-looking French colonel, in a jeep heavily sandbagged against mines. You are always acutely conscious of the roads when driving in Vietnam; the mines and booby traps that might be lying beneath an innocent surface give them a compelling personality. This road was crisscrossed every few yards with the scars of Vietminh sabotage. Thousands of trenches had been dug across it, some filled in only that morning.

From time to time we stopped to inspect the forts the French had built along the road, always within sight of each other. In most of them the *chefs de poste* had to be routed out for the colonel. More often than not they were unshaven and sloppily dressed. Morale is not high among the French troops in Vietnam.

One post was manned entirely by blue-uniformed, barefooted Vietnamese, a small unit of the new army being trained by the French to replace part at least of their own troops. I asked the colonel if he felt he could trust the local soldiers when left to themselves. He shrugged expressively.

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With a sweep of his arm he indicated a wide stretch of rice-paddy landscape.

"Those peasants you see out there working so peacefully and industriously—tonight, as every night, probably half of them will be Vietminh. In this area we have only about 6,000 troops spread over 7,000 square kilometers. What can one do? There are probably as many Vietminh inside this zone as there are in those hills of theirs ahead of us. This road is mined regularly. Ditches are dug across it almost every night. My telephone lines are carried off at least every second day. It is very difficult to fight someone you can't see."

The relentless war of nerves waged on the French in Tonkin sometimes causes them to act harshly and indiscriminately in retaliation. While I was in the north one village was burned down and a second was bombed flat because they happened to be closest to places where Vietminh saboteurs had been active.

Gloomy as the military picture is, the state of Vietnam's economy is no better. For the first nine months of last year the trade deficit (for all Indo-China) was more than double the total value of exports, this in a country which before the war exported 1.5 million tons of rice annually and did good business in rubber, coal, cement, tea and pepper. Today the yawning gap between imports and exports is largely bridged by military expenditures. It seems inevitable that Vietnam's economy will be bolstered by France's military spending until the new nation has been pacified and production is restored. The American taxpayer has an obvious interest in this situation, since France's enormous outlay makes her so much more dependent upon Marshall Plan aid.

By the terms of the independence agreement, France is committed to establish and train a Vietnamese army —although she also has reserved the right to maintain French military establishments there indefinitely. A start has been made on the new army, but it will be a long time before it could function as an independent force—and in any case there always will be the suspicion that the local troops are not altogether trustworthy. The French have had to start almost from scratch in training officers for the new army, because as a general rule Vietnamese have not been allowed to advance beyond the rank of non-commissioned officer.

Most of the Vietnamese troops already under arms are stationed in Cochin-China, probably because the Vietminh is far less active there than in either Tonkin or Annam. For this reason, too, Cochin-China is the place where French optimism begins and ends. In the north, although the senior officials will blandly tell you during an interview that everything is fine, most of them admit privately that the situation is deteriorating.

Saigon, capital of Cochin-China and of Vietnam, is a city that is conducive to an optimistic outlook. It is clean, at least by Oriental standards. The dark green foliage of the trees that arch over the boulevards provides a pleasant contrast to the white and pastel buildings. It is undoubtedly the most cosmopolitan city in the Far East. At noon and during the evening the sidewalk cafés are thronged with French businessmen, officials and army officers, accompanied by chic French women and delicately beautiful Annamite girls. There are excellent restaurants, and intimate night clubs that feature slightly risqué cabaret acts imported from Paris. People travel the streets freely until after midnight and do not seem much perturbed by the occasional hand grenades thrown by Vietminh agents.

The caliber of the new Vietnamese officials is such that it will be a long time before the country can become entirely self-governing. As I said, the best of the Vietnamese intellectuals have refused to join the government. In Saigon, one of the top French administrators told me that this was of no great importance. What counts, he said, is that the Bao Dai government has the support of the masses—an assertion that is not borne out by the temper of the people in the country areas I visited.

Most of the peasants of Vietnam, as in China and other Asian countries, do not believe that politics is any business of theirs. They are wholly concerned with getting along from day to day as best they can, and to a large extent they are bystanders in the struggle going on around them. But while most of them perhaps do not support Ho Chi-minh actively, it cannot be said that they are working for Bao Dai. If anything, they tend to blame the French—the foreigner—for the upheaval that has depleted their rice bowls. The few that I talked to placed no share of the blame on their fellow countryman, Ho Chi-minh.

Perhaps 80 percent of the intellectuals in Bao Dai's Vietnam are vehemently anti-French. Although most of them are anti-Communists, they are so obsessed with the idea of getting the French out that they will not listen to the argument that in siding with Ho Chi-minh, whether actively or passively, they are helping deliver Vietnam into the hands of another foreign power. When this is pointed out to them they are likely to answer: "Nothing could be worse than the French. We can at least give Communism a trial." The argument that they will be powerless to cast off Communism if they don't find it to their liking makes no impression upon them at all.

These unreasoning, impassioned protestations of the Vietnamese nationalists must sound sweet indeed to the agents of Moscow. And they give considerable weight to the claim made recently by Ho Chi-minh's jungle radio that 1950 will be the year of decision in the Vietnam's "struggle for independence."

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HAROLD L. ICKES: Another Truman Appointment

ONCE MORE President Truman has come to bat on an appointment and struck out. He is not a Babe Ruth when he stands at home plate waiting for some substitute pitcher to toss up a candidate. When Major General Philip B. Fleming was suggested for appointment as Under Secretary of Commerce in charge of transportation, it was a soft ball, pitched underhand, and this may be the reason why President Truman could not do a "Babe Ruth."

A graduate of West Point, Fleming won the right—by dint of doing as little soldiering as possible—to don the two stars of a major general in 1942. It is to be doubted whether any other career military man of equal rank has ever done so little at his trade. No glory-seeking officer he, demanding a chance to distinguish himself on a far-flung battlefield in the last war. He was enamored of a civilian job. Certainly it paid better.

General Fleming's longest "soldiering" job was as general manager of athletics at West Point from 1926 to 1933. This gave no real administrative experience, but one could learn "to soldier." Next he worked for the PWA, for two years, under a chief who did not feel that he should be given power to determine a policy or decide a close issue. When President Franklin D. Roosevelt turned the Passamaquoddy (Maine) Project over to the Army Engineers the then Major Fleming was put in charge. He built a beautiful village for his staff with public funds, but President Roosevelt decided not to go ahead when the Bureau of Reclamation engineers estimated that it would cost twice what Fleming's Army Engineers had reckoned. His next "military" post for a year was that of coördinator of the Resettlement Administration. From 1937 to 1938, he was stationed at St. Paul as District Army Engineer.

In 1939, Secretary Perkins tapped him to become a soft administrator in the Department of Labor's Wage and Hour Division. Two years later he found a still softer job—Federal Works Administrator. The late Harold D. Smith, as Director of the Budget, came to the conclusion that General Fleming was doing one of the poorest and least useful jobs in Washington and recommended to the President that the FWA be absorbed by the Department of Interior, minus the military genius who headed it.

At this time the influence of the late Harry L. Hopkins was paramount with General Fleming. Thus it came about that efficient FWA employees were steadily replaced by the boondogglers who had served Mr. Hopkins in the WPA. This deterioration, plus the fact that General Fleming was a poor administrator, resulted in inefficiency and waste, both during the General's listless attendance upon his duties and during his long illnesses and protracted convalescences. At one Congressional investigation, General Fleming was sharply questioned about a number of privately-sponsored projects, the entire cost of which was borne by the government. In the selection of projects, Mr. Hopkins, of course, had the decisive say.

In April of 1949, President Truman appointed General Fleming chairman of the Maritime Commission. Thus, he moved into another easy civilian job. Again the pay was higher. He held onto a government car and an official chauffeur, although this was against the law. To distinguish himself, he had two medallions struck, at public expense, to display prominently on his car.

It is admitted that, with one or two possible exceptions, he was no worse a selection for chairman than some other members of the Commission would have been. As chairman, General Fleming lost no time in lining up with the majority of the Commission, who had been permitting favored steamship lines to loot the Treasury to the tune of an estimated $25 million. For Fleming's weak complicity in this raid the Comptroller General, Lindsay Warren, and committees of both Senate and House have issued blistering criticisms.

When President Truman decided to reorganize a smaller Maritime Commission into the Department of Commerce, he is reported to have sent word to all members of the old Commission that none of them would be appointed. When this word reached General Fleming, he hurried to the White House. The next day his name was sent up for Under Secretary of Commerce. Senate confirmation would give him even greater power to continue to mismanage the affairs of the abbreviated commission than he had as chairman of the original Maritime Commission. Even if the Senate should not confirm him, the mere nomination by the President of an inefficient and wasteful administrator will serve further to discourage conscientious and devoted federal employees who have worked on the theory that a job well done might lead to a better job.

In a recent editorial, the New York *Herald Tribune*, in extravagantly praising a "General Fleming" who is not known in Washington, referred to him as a "career man." A career of official undertaker of government cadres! A career of a "jolly good fellow" who has been able, as a non-soldiering soldier, to assault and capture position after position, armed only with a repertory of more or less risqué stories and an ability to lilt agreeably amid clinking glasses of spirits of camaraderie.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

PROLEGOMENA TO KENNETH BURKE

by Malcolm Cowley

IT IS HARD for me to write about *A Rhetoric of Motives* because the author is my oldest friend. I first met Kenneth Burke when I was three years old and he was four. At that time my father was the Burkes' family physician and he took my mother and me along with him on one of his visits. Mother used to tell me that I went around the parlor touching everything in my reach while Kenneth followed apprehensively repeating, "Don't touch. Mustn't." One is always tempted to read meanings and patterns into those childhood stories and it is true that in our high-school days I was more venturesome than Kenneth, getting into more scrapes, but afterwards our relations were reversed. As a critic he has been the one who went touching everything from floor to chandelier, while at times I have scolded him by letter for not observing the critical rules handed down by the Elders.

A RHETORIC OF MOTIVES, by Kenneth Burke (Prentice-Hall; $5).

By touching and asking questions and taking nothing for granted he has come to be one of the few truly speculative thinkers of our time. It is not a time that encourages speculation; we have begun to speak wistfully of the past; there is a general longing for certainty or security and meanwhile our few explorations, whether intellectual or geographical, are usually made by organized groups. Even dissent, so far as it is related to Communism or anti-Communism, has become an organized and bureaucratized activity. Burke belongs to an older line, that of the individual seekers after truth; one thinks of William James and his father, too; of C. S. Peirce, John Jay Chapman, and perhaps of Thorstein Veblen more than the others.

I speak of Veblen because he had the same concern with hidden social motives, but I doubt that Burke would like to be compared with him. "Veblen," he says in the *Rhetoric*, "treads cumbrously. And his terminology of motives is far too limited in scope; hence, at every step in his exploration, important modifiers would be needed, before we could have a version of human motives equal to the depths at which the ways of persuasion . . . must really operate." Burke's terminology is wider in scope and permits a deeper reading of human motives. Where Veblen tends to simplify or cheapen a situation, Burke likes to reveal the complexity of motives lying behind it. Where Veblen is critical and even corrosive, Burke is more often admiring. "See how vastly ingenious men are in hiding their follies," he seems to be saying; and he accepts the follies as a condition of the social environment.

Yet he has in common with Veblen a bent of mind that is revealed in his use of a special vocabulary. Veblen had a special vocabulary, too; it was different from Burke's, but it was invented for the same general purposes, one of which was to cast new light on a subject by describing it in terms borrowed from a strikingly different subject; thus, he discussed the American leisure class as if he were an ethnologist writing about the Polynesians. Burke often uses the same method; he calls it "perspective by incongruity."

Veblen began his career as a student of philosophy, but his interest in human relations soon led him into sociology and economics. Burke started from literary criticism and always circles back to it; his critical essays are as fruitful—or one might rather call them seedful—as any written in our time; but I think it is an error to approach him as a critic primarily. In his latest books one finds that his interest in human relations is leading him more and more toward general philosophy, where Veblen began.

A Rhetoric of Motives, the very latest, is the second volume of a trilogy which will be devoted to the strategies of human expression and communication. In the first volume—*A Grammar of Motives* (1945)—he had offered a general statement of principles (the "grammar" of the title was used in the sense of "elements," as one might say "a grammar of painting"). Burke held that there were five elements involved in any statement about human motives; they were act, scene, agent, agency and purpose. His theory was that every philosophical school had laid a special emphasis on one of the five; thus, materialism emphasized the *scene*; idealism, the *agent*; pragmatism the *agency* or instrument; and mysticism, the ultimate *purpose*. Burke himself showed more sympathy with Aquinas, who, he said, was "dramatistic" in his method and who conceived of existence as an *act*.

Having defined his terms in the first volume, Burke goes forward in the second to discuss language as the medium of human relations. "Rhetoric" in Burke's sense is a very broad term; he seems to define it—though never in exactly these words—as the study of the linguistic and symbolic means by which human beings try to influence one another. Thus, it includes the traditional rhetoric, to which he devotes some interesting chapters, but it also includes topics that are usually regarded as lying in the province of the anthropologists or the economists or the Freudian psychologists. At one point he criticizes the Freudians for "concealing the nature of exclusive social relations behind inclusive terms for sexual relations." He promises that in the last volume of the trilogy, which will be *A Symbolic of Motives*, he will analyze Freud's work to show "how many logical and dialectical principles are, by his own account, involved in the operations of the dream."

In books like the *Grammar* and the *Rhetoric* we begin to see the outlines of a philosophical system on the grand scale, something that Veblen never attempted. The system starts with the definition that *man is a symbol-using animal*, and from this it exfoliates in all directions. In the sense that it is a

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humanistic or man-centered system it must always remain partial; it does not attempt to deal with the extra-human world of matter and energy. In another sense and within its fixed limits, the system promises to be complete. Already it has its own methodology (called "dramatism"), its own esthetics (based on the principle that works of art are symbolic actions), its logic and dialectics, its ethics (or picture of the good life) and even its metaphysics, which Burke prefers to describe as a meta-rhetoric.

Burke has a reputation for being difficult to read and one must admit that it is partly deserved—while adding the proviso that most Americans, including our college graduates, have been so corrupted by skimming through their newspapers and half-listening to the radio that they find any reading difficult if it deals, even in the simplest fashion, with general ideas. In so far as the difficulty can be ascribed to the author's presentation of a subject, and not to the subject itself or to the audience, I think it is largely a matter of Burke's special vocabulary, which has to be learned like a new language.

He is looking for terms that will cast new light on old situations and he finds them in unexpected places. Sometimes they are colloquial phrases like "moving in on," "slipping out from under," "cashing in" or "being driven into a corner," to which he gives a philosophical meaning. Sometimes they are technical terms that he borrows from anthropology or sociology or semantics. Sometimes they are the words of Greek philosophers or theologians carried over into English; in the present volume I noted, among others, "eristic," "chiliastic," "charismatic," "heuristic," "eschatology," "noetic." It is a good idea to have a big dictionary at hand when reading him for the first time.

Besides a special terminology, Burke also has the habits of thought that make him hard to follow. He is a dialectician who is always trying to reconcile opposites by finding that they have a common source. Give him two apparently hostile terms like poetry and propaganda, art and economics, speech and action, and immediately he looks beneath them for the common ground on which they stand. Where the Marxian dialectic moves forward in time from the conflict of thesis and antithesis to their subsequent resolution or synthesis—and always emphasizes the conflict—the Burkean dialectic moves backwards from conflicting effects to harmonious causes. It is a dialectic of reconciliation or peacemaking and not of war. At the same time it gives a backward or spiral movement to his current of thought, so that sometimes the beginning of a book is its logical ending and we have to read the last chapter before fully understanding the first.

The point I want to make is that, with a little attention, we finally understand all the chapters. Burke is one of the authors who write to be read twice, and if we give his work that second reading most of our difficulties are cleared away. A second reading is like a second journey through a recently discovered mountain pass; the trail is marked now and we no longer get lost in ravines that end at the base of a cliff. There are, it is true, a few sentences that have to be walked around like boulders in the path; but most of the second journey is easy and we make it with a sense of exhilaration, as if we had suddenly learned to be at home in a strange country. What Burke teaches us on the journey is how to interpret human experience, including literary experience, as a series of ritual dramas: initiations, penances, rebirths and castings out of scapegoats. We learn his lesson and, when we come down out of the mountains, we discern a new richness in our favorite books and a new eventfulness in the landscape of our familiar lives.

THE NEW CHAPTER

THE GRAND ALLIANCE, by Winston S. Churchill (Houghton Mifflin; $6).

OF THE THREE VOLUMES of this prodigious autobiographical history which have now been published, *The Grand Alliance* is the least satisfactory. The reader puts it down more easily and there are signs that even Churchill is wearying of his task. The period covered is 1941, and the events include the seesaw battles in North Africa, the paratroop conquest of Crete, the sinking of the *Bismarck*, the German invasion of Russia, the drafting of the Atlantic Charter, and Pearl Harbor. All this, as the Preface concedes, is offered only as a "contribution to the history of the Second World War . . . told from the standpoint of the British Minister."

Once under way, Churchill tends to forget this modest caveat, and to pronounce with majestic finality on all military, diplomatic and political events with which he had any connection. The descriptions of the North African campaign, of the disaster at Crete or of the Battle of the Atlantic are, by and large, as vivid and as comprehensive as the general reader could desire. (The specialist must, of course, tell more and may even tell it better.) The chapter on Yugoslavia, the account of the economic and political causes leading to Japan's entry into the war, and, most important, of Anglo-Soviet relations after June 10, 1941, are woefully incomplete; and these and other analyses exhibit an unfortunate weakness for appraising past events in light of present circumstances.

The style and organization also fall below the standard set earlier. There are fewer felicitous ironies and pen portraits. The narrative shuttles back and forth in a vain attempt to preserve a quasi-chronological order while displaying the interrelation of major events and policies. Churchill, usually so skilled in the use of original documents, here offers such a profusion of directives, telegrams, minutes and lengthier policy papers that the story keeps stalling and the reader is overwhelmed.

It is, however, a large book and there are many wonderful and excellent things in it. It has a full share of eloquence. It is redolent of courage and surpassing, but wholly acceptable, self-esteem. It offers a historical survey from a uniquely privileged vantage point. It is rarely dull. It is a remarkable apologia for a remarkable man. Nor can one forget even its minor sidelights: General Sir Bernard Freyburg and his "twenty-seven separate scars and gashes" ("You nearly always get two wounds for every bullet and splinter, because mostly they have to go out as well as go in," Freyburg explained); the designation in all official British telegrams, of Iceland as "Iceland (C)" so as not to confuse it with Ireland—a typical Churchillian whimsy; Churchill

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in the role of scientist and engineer giving advice, on visiting Reykjavik, that the surrounding hot springs should be used to heat the town ("I am glad that [this] advice has now been carried out"); his characterization of the American nation ("this numerous but remote, wealthy and talkative people"); his phone conversation with FDR when he (WC) thought he was speaking with Wendell Willkie—the only recorded instance of Churchill's being embarrassed; his letter to the Japanese Ambassador, informing him of Britain's declaration of war, signed, "I have the honor to be, with high consideration, Sir, Your Obedient Servant, Winston S. Churchill" ("Some people did not like this ceremonious style. But after all when you kill a man it costs nothing to be polite"); messages to Stalin, addressed from Winston S. Churchill to *Monsieur* Stalin. It is not surprising the two finally hit it off so well together; is there any other living man or, for that matter, any man since Major Pendennis, who would have addressed the Marshal as Monsieur? JAMES R. NEWMAN

NO LOVE FOR LAWRENCE

D. H. LAWRENCE, by Richard Aldington (Duell, Sloan and Pearce; $3.75).

THIS IS a curiously petulant biography, the sort of thing a younger sister might write about an elder who had dominated her in childhood. It dwells much on small defects, and on smallnesses which are barely defects. Lawrence was delighted when Middleton Murry asked him to do some reviewing; Aldington must say *childishly* delighted. Lawrence always felt insecure about his earnings and made frequent references to his poverty; Aldington must match this with one year's earnings of more than $5,000. Lawrence often spoke of the unimportance of possessions and the moral sickness born of money worry; Aldington calls him hypocritical for being upset when the stock-market crash of 1929 bit into his small American savings (he was dying of tuberculosis at the time, but no matter). Aldington even gets down to the level of deriding Lawrence for not knowing, just fancy, the book-of-etiquette formula for addressing a letter to the Honorable Dorothy Brett. His lack of sympathy becomes ludicrously apparent when he describes his parting from Lawrence at Toulon in 1928:

> When we said goodbye he clasped my hand and uttered one of those gnomic epigrams which always embarrassed me. "Possess your soul in patience," he said, though why I have not the slightest idea.

Aldington's main line of attack stems from Jessie Chambers' *Lawrence, A Memoir* (published pseudonymously under the initials E. T.). Murry, who had been deeply hurt by Lawrence, was first to get hold of it, and later Hugh Kingsmill, who pursued him with rancorous envy, made great play with it. It is an ideal weapon for the denigrator since it is written from the heart and has the overwhelmingly convincing quality that fiction can achieve and which truth, so complex and so clouded by side issues, rarely possesses.

Self-obsession is the core of adolescence, and most adolescents manage to end their first love affairs with a ruthless egotism calculated to wound and distress. Lawrence was no exception—indeed at that stage no end of a cad. He liked his girl's devotion, but she began to bore him with her provincialism when he got to London and the great world. Not only that, but Lawrence was as shrewd as they come, and realized that it would be hard to climb out of his narrow world on his own—and with a wife impossible. He ditched her.

The woman is yet to be born who will say, "I bored him and was a drag on him; anyway he was too big for me." E. T. sat down and wrote a book about how Lawrence could never love any woman but his mother, pinning the mother-fixation yarn on him for all she was worth. The thing is written with a certain deadly skill, and only gives itself away once—when the final parting comes, E. T. knows that Lawrence's whole life is finished. As a matter of fact his wonderful life with Frieda had not even begun, and almost the whole body of his work was to be written. Why biographer after biographer falls for this is one of the mysteries; the answer could probably be unearthed by a psychologist working along the line opened by the following question: Why do male biographers and critics writing about Lawrence feel so venomous about Frieda Lawrence?

All in all, since at the time of Lawrence's death Aldington wrote a graceful and penetrating essay about him, this ungenerous coughing up of old bile is a regrettable business and a great disappointment. ANTHONY WEST

Anthony West has been fiction critic for the New Statesman and Nation (London) since 1939, and during the war was a news writer for the British Broadcasting Corporation. He is the author of a recent novel, The Vintage.

FROM EASTERN EUROPE

EAST OF THE IRON CURTAIN, by Vernon Bartlett (Medill McBride; $2.75).

ONE OF THE indisputable advantages we hold over the Russians in the cold war is a certain amount of foreign reporting which is not itself part of the cold war. It may make us look less monolithic and it undoubtedly gives our heresy-hunters acute pain. But a good football team should interrupt even the most fervent pep-talk occasionally to look at the score board, and we can still do this in Eastern Europe.

Vernon Bartlett's book is the account of a quick trip in 1949 through all the countries on the Soviet side of the iron curtain except Rumania and Albania. Bartlett, of the London *News Chronicle*, is one of the best of all living foreign correspondents, a former League of Nations official, and a man rich enough in experience to afford the luxury of frankness. His book is not as complete as those of the three colleagues to whom he tips his journalistic hat, John Gunther, Hugh Seton-Watson and Alexander Werth. But his material is fresh and clean reporting, and anyone who doubts its value should consider how useful it would be to have a comparable job on how things looked last year in, say, Central Asia or China.

Bartlett reports that people behind the curtain are grim, hard, unhopeful, stronger than we think, and still full of potential surprises. He sees no effective opposition to the evil elements of transplanted Communism in those circles where we officially look for it. Only the peasants, the skilled industrial workers and the Communists who happen to be also patriots have any chance of changing the climate, he reports.

His proposals are unlikely to get him denounced as the architect of present British or American policy toward this region. He thinks it is a mistake to regard these nations as "satellites"; we

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would do better to encourage more Titos. He believes we should remember that certain reforms were overdue in all these countries except Czechoslovakia, and that our ideas of personal liberty are hard to sell to people who have never heard of them. So he argues for keeping open as many gaps as we can in the iron curtain and for cutting down the number of our "protests which soothe our own consciences but have no effect upon the behavior of the people to whom they are directed." Finally, he knows and writes that we will win the struggle in the long run by our practice rather than our preaching, and that the real challenge to us is the problem of solving our own economic problems without the sacrifice of our essential liberties.

JOSEPH BARNES

THEATRE: From Paris to London

THE BEST PRODUCTION I saw in London was that of a French play, Jean Anouilh's "Ring Around the Moon" (originally "Invitation to the Palace"); the best play, Chekhov's "Ivanov." This is not to suggest that nothing good is being written by English playwrights: it is impossible to overlook the meteoric appearance of Christopher Fry. What is notable, however, is the rarity of good plays reflecting contemporary England.

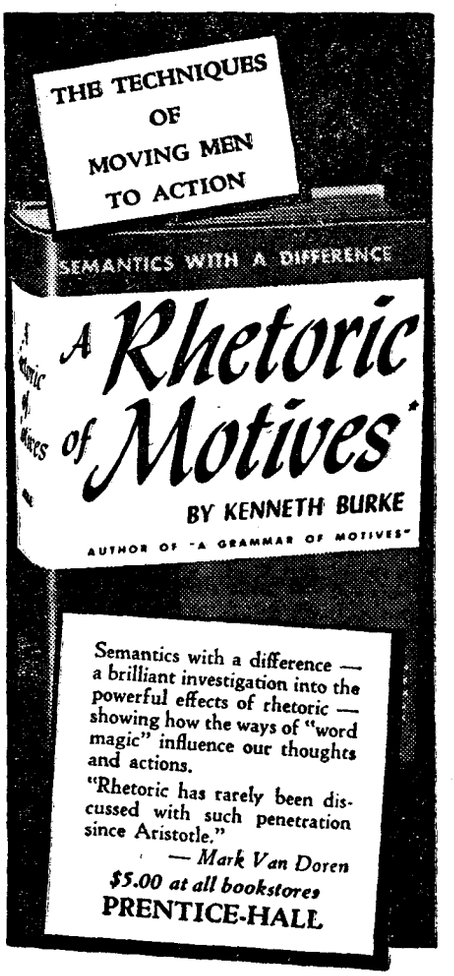
There is a certain kinship in mood between the best work being done in England and in France. Anouilh and Fry (who did the superb translation of "Ring Around the Moon") tend toward a poetic and quasi-satiric playfulness. The Frenchman is the more authentic playwright, the Briton the more consciously literary personality. The Frenchman has more hurt in him, more acid, more immediate social relevance. The Briton is a virtuoso of words, and one guesses that he is sufficiently happy in the pleasure of their use. Fry's themes serve chiefly as occasions for his brilliant rhetoric. Anouilh hates the past, is tense and suspicious about the present. Fry simply neglects the present by wrapping it in a dazzling fabric wrought from stuff in which strands of ancient pattern predominate. Both men are highly cultivated, but neither appears spiritually vigorous. I doubt that there is any new birth in either of them.

Anouilh writes plays he calls "black," and others he calls "rosy." The "rosy" plays are ornaments based on the material of the "black" ones. The bright plays remind one of the kind of eighteenth-century art in which a sparkling prank may be interpreted as a sign of disease. "Ring Around the Moon" is about an exquisitely weary society in which the nobility deplores the present mess (shades of Giraudoux!), rich young men toy with love, millionaires are wretched and pure young girls are buffeted around by everyone. Yet Anouilh's play is jolly—a charade or "comedy-ballet." He gives it a happy ending, because, as he says, "it wouldn't be decent" to do otherwise.

The English production, infinitely superior to that given "Thieves' Ball," a similar Anouilh play I saw in Paris, emphasizes everything romantic, pretty and gay in the material. There is no hint of bitterness. It is right that this should be so, since the British public is much less cynical than the French, hardly aware (in the theatre at any rate) that the contemporary world is thought by many artists to be thoroughly rotten. The cast of "Ring Around the Moon" is wellnigh perfect, Oliver Messel's settings enchanting, and the direction—by London's new find, Peter Brooks—prodigiously clever.

Laurence Olivier's production of Fry's "Venus Observed" is, on the whole, rather mediocre. Yet one cannot be sure that it is only Olivier's presence in the cast that has made the play a success. Though generally obscure, it has an elegance, a wit and a mood of lofty, smiling sadness which appease and bemuse the London audience—just as New York is lulled by "The Cocktail Party."

No one appears to know exactly what "Venus Observed" means. Fry has said that it is a mood play, and just as his earlier comedy, "The Lady's Not For Burning," is springlike, "Venus Observed" is written in an autumnal key. The theme, Fry adds, is loneliness. Per-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haps only a reading of its profuse and flashing text will disclose what it contains and reveals, but, as I watched it, the play seemed to me an allegory on the state of England today.

The central character is an aging aristocrat who in his youth was quite a fellow. Now that he is turning mellow, he has taken to studying the heavens and being generally understanding and benign. His agent (or chief employee) cheats him in order to gain the riches necessary to the kind of civilization or dignity which his employer possesses, and the latter (the duke) sympathizes with the reasons for which he is being despoiled. (He has had so much that it doesn't really matter to him that he is now being robbed.) The agent's daughter is a young firebrand who has been to America and to prison for having joined a society devoted to the destruction of ugly monuments. The aristocratic duke falls in love with her. When danger threatens the girl and her elderly admirer, she clings to him—but it is not love, only fear. The girl will marry the duke's son, who, always in awe of his father, has been awaiting his chance. The old man and his equally passé agent sit down in the night in a kind of satisfied and calm retirement from the world, which they leave to their children, having done all they can to protect, instruct and inspire them.

Closer examination of Fry may show that the less serious one's approach to him the more his work improves. Perhaps the caliber of the fireworks that erupt from his moldy mansion should suffice us and teach us that it is a mistake to look, in their light, for the outline of a new architecture. On this score, however, the critic must reserve the right to change his mind at any time without notice. But I could not help thinking, as I watched "Venus Observed," that one English poet today is spinning a dry wisdom, while another is just spinning.

I shall continue this report of the London season in my next article. It must already be clear that I found the London theatre this year far more rewarding than the Parisian.

HAROLD CLURMAN

ON THE AIR: NBC's New Broom

THREE OR FOUR years ago, a revolution took place inside the National Association of Broadcasters. At the convention, where a new broadcast code was discussed, a young man got up and made some quiet but very sharp remarks. He complained that the new code was a network set-up by and for the big fellows—whereas something like 44 percent of the NAB station-members were not affiliates of those chains. There was consternation. As a consequence, the non-network stations obtained genuine recognition, so much that now the NAB is by way of losing the networks.

The man who started all that fuss is Ted Cott, at that time—and until four or five weeks ago—program director for WNEW, a very un-networklike New York station. Now Cott has been taken over—courage, corn, commercialism and keen social conscience—by NBC. There is a new spirit blowing through NBC's whiskers. And the source of much of the ventilation is Cott, one of the most fabulous of all American broadcasters.

His name should be familiar to readers of this department. At WNEW, Cott originated such ideas and programs as The American Negro Theatre of the Air, the United Nations jingles, the use of one-minute "spots" to sell democracy with all the oomph usually accorded Chiquita Banana. He outdid the networks in creating the best radio documentary history of the war, was radio's best customer for anything with a message—provided it was skillfully produced.

Now Cott is general manager of WNBC, WNBC-FM, WNBT, New York. These are NBC's New York anchorages. They should be more; they could be tone-setters. The NBC network has 172 radio affiliates, 61 in television. Of these it owns and operates directly from headquarters a total of six stations in radio, five in television. Each of the stations has its own manager, but the important shots

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are called in New York. Up to now, WNBC and WNBT have been mere network appendages. It's Cott's job to make them stand on their own feet as assets to their community.

Here is an example of what he has already done at NBC. Since 1939, there have been on the air 12 series of dramatic transcriptions produced with the highest skill and distributed gratis by the Institute for Democratic Education.

Not once since the Institute went into the business has any of the four networks' key stations in New York City broadcast an IDE transcription. From 600 to 1,000 radio stations in the country, including many of NBC's affiliates, have used the material, but in New York the series has had to depend on the lower-powered, non-network outlets. Now the Institute has issued its thirteenth series, entitled "The New Frontier of Human Freedom." The fact that the production is of top quality is not new for an IDE series. Neither is it startling to note the presence of such stars as Ezra Stone, Tyrone Power, Faye Emerson and Walter Hampden. The IDE has always had its pick in casting. What is almost shocking, in view of the past record, is that not only will WNBC broadcast the IDE "platters"; it will give those shows excellent time, Monday evenings at 7:30. What is more, WNBC has insisted on signing a contract making it New York City's exclusive outlet for the current IDE series. Each owned-and-operated NBC station also has, in its city, an IDE "exclusive." That's almost like US Steel insisting on being the one and only distributor for a CIO pamphlet.

Cott, of course, is the man who has put NBC behind the IDE. But he has done, and contemplates, more. He is bringing back to the air Helen Parkhurst's program, the one which was called "Child's World" when it was broadcast over the ABC network. As of old, Miss Parkhurst will interview children of varying ages, letting them do the talking under her expert guidance, reflecting the child's point of view on problems important to parent, educator and offspring. In conjunction with New York's Board of Education, he plans several series of programs most desired by experts in social studies.

Further examples illustrate the Cott methods. Against CBS's early morning disc jockey, Jack Sterling, he is scheduling one "Skitch" Henderson, to do the same job, he hopes better. On Saturday mornings, he is broadcasting a new Henry Morgan show whereon, between records, the master will discuss parent psychology for the edification of the younger set. WNBC has new station breaks: One of them insists: "NBC covers America; WNBC belongs to New York." Cott has hired Norman Corwin, Norman Cousins and Louis Untermeyer to write new "sign-on" and "sign-off" announcements, which are being recorded—by name stars, of course. Those signatures are legal necessities, broadcast by WNBC at six a.m. and two a.m., when it announces the power, wave-length, etc., permitted under federal regulations. Now these will be done, presumably, in prose poetry.

Put all these things together, and you have a lot of razzle-dazzle of the kind that has made WNEW famous. But WNEW has also paid off as one of the two or three most profitable radio properties in the country—a fact that undoubtedly decided NBC's and RCA's brass to bring Cott to Radio City.

He plans to make New York itself WNBC-conscious. About five years ago, I discovered that, while the WNBC listeners are many, their audience-loyalty is extremely low. At that time, I checked on the mail received by the four New York stations which broadcast United Nations programs. Over a comparable period, I found, the city's municipal station had heard from something like 2,200 listeners; WMCA and WQXR had received more than 500 letters apiece. The fourth station in the test was WNBC; it had received 34 letters and postcards, one phone call.

The reason for this discrepancy was obvious. New York listeners don't think of WNBC as a community broadcaster; it's a network flagship—something far away from the sidewalks. If Cott can change New York's relation to WNBC, he will undoubtedly set a new pace for NBC's other broadcast properties in Chicago, Cleveland, etc. Beyond that lies the possibility of a change in the entire network. Maybe he'll last that long. SAUL CARSON

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